

Message Text

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AGRE-00 AID-05 CIAE-00 COME-00 DODE-00 FEAE-00
NSC-05 TRSE-00 USIA-06 /083 W
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R 301320Z MAR 77
FM AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4671
INFO AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS CZ
AMEMBASSY ASUNCION

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 LA PAZ 2320

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: AMGT, PFOR, US, BL
SUBJ: PARM-ANNUAL POLICY AND RESOURCES ASSESSMENT-
PART I. BOLIVIA

REF: CERP 0001; STATE 38356, STATE 45461, STATE 47671,
STATE 58291

I. POLICY ASSESSMENT

A. U.S. INTERESTS
LONG TERM STRATEGIC U.S. INTERESTS IN BOLIVIA ARE AT
MOST MARGINAL. OF THOSE INTERESTS WE DO HAVE, THE MOST
IMPORTANT IN THE LONG RUN IS THE BENEFIT TO U.S. WELFARE
OF A REDUCTION IN THE ILLEGAL COCAINE TRAFFIC FROM
BOLIVIA TO THE UNITED STATES.

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B. AMBASSADOR'S OVERVIEW
BASED ON AN OBJECTIVE EVALUATION OF THE DEFINITION
OF LONG-TERM STRATEGIC UNITED STATES INTERESTS, I
CONSIDER THAT THERE ARE NON IN BOLIVIA. THIS DOES
NOT MEAN THAT THE U.S. SHOULD IGNORE BOLIVIA OR BE
INDIFFERENT TO IT. WE DO HAVE INTERESTS OF A LESSER
NATURE WHICH ARE LISTED IN THE DEPARTMENT'S PARM

GUIDANCE FOR BOLIVIA (STATE 58291). RATHER THAN THE UNITED STATES MISSION IN BOLIVIA SHOULD BE PROPERLY STAFFED AND HAVE APPROPRIATE PROGRAMS TO ACHIEVE THESE INTERESTS. WE ALSO SHOULD MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO MEET OUR ON-GOING COMMITMENTS IN THE MOST EFFICIENT AND FRIENDLY WAY POSSIBLE. THE ABSENCE OF AUTHENTIC SECURITY INTERESTS DOES MEAN THAT WE SHOULD BE CAUTIOUS ABOUT TAKING ON ADDITIONAL COMMITMENTS OTHER THAN NEW AID LOANS CONSISTENT WITH CONGRESSIONAL MANDATES.

DURING THE PAST YEAR I COMBINED THE EMBASSY POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC/COMMERCIAL SECTIONS TO IMPROVE EFFICIENCY AND I ALSO VOLUNTARILY GAVE UP THREE STATE POSITIONS, WHILE OBTAINING ONE NEW CONSULAR POSITION. DURING THE PAST PERIOD WE SHOULD TAKE STEPS TO FURTHER TRIM THE STAFF OF MOST ELEMENTS OF THE U.S. MISSION. THIS IN TURN SUGGESTS THAT THE QUALITY OF PEOPLE ASSIGNED HERE SHOULD BE HIGH, BECAUSE THE FEWER THE PEOPLE THE MORE SIGNIFICANT THEIR INDIVIDUAL EFFORT WILL BE. THE U.S. DOES HAVE SERIOUS OBJECTIVES, AND COURSE OF ACTION TO ACCOMPLISH THEM.

THERE IS A FRIENDLY ENVIRONMENT IN BOLIVIA WITHIN WHICH THE UNITED STATES CONDUCTS ITS FOREIGN POLICY. THE PRESENT MILITARY GOVERNMENT APPEARS STABLE AND ABLE TO REMAIN IN OFFICE FOR AN INDEFINITE PERIOD. PERSONALITIES MAY CHANGE BUT THE

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GENERAL FRAMEWORK OF BOLIVIA'S DOMESTIC AND EXTERNAL POLICIES SEEMS NOW TO BE SO DEEPLY SET THAT IT WILL CONTINUE EVEN WERE THERE TO BE A NEW PRESIDENT. U.S.- BOLIVIAN RELATIONS ARE CORDIAL, RESPONSIVE AND RESPECTFUL. WE DO NOT DOMINATE AND ARE NOT SO INTIMATELY INVOLVED WITH PRESIDENT BANZER AND HIS GROUP THAT WE CANNOT FUNCTION EQUALLY WELL WITH ALMOST ANY OTHER EMERGING LEADER AND HIS ASSOCIATES. THERE IS A COMPATIBILITY OF U.S. AND GOB POINTS OF VIEW ON MOST INTERNATIONAL AND REGIONAL ISSUES, AND IN GENERAL THE MODERATE GOB DOMESTIC, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL POLICIES ARE QUITE ACCEPTABLE TO US. OUR PRESENT POLICIES ARE ENTIRELY APPROPRIATE TO ACHIEVING OUR OBJECTIVES AND SHOULD BE MAINTAINED WITHOUT MODIFICATION SO LONG AS THE SITUATION REMAINS AS IT IS. THE U.S. POSTURE AT THE INTERNATIONAL TIN COUNCIL AND THE U.S. POLICIES AND PRACTICES REGARDING TIN ARE A MATTER OF ACUTE INTEREST IN BOLIVIA. SO LONG AS TIN PRICES REMAIN REMUNERATIVE, THERE SHOULD BE

NO MAJOR PROBLEMS PROVIDED THE U.S. PURSUES
SYMPATHETIC AND HONEST PRACTICES.

AS THIS REGIME MOVES TO MEET ITS STATED COMMITMENT
TO RETURN THE COUNTRY TO A CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM BY
1980, IT WILL MAKE DECISIONS TO RE-OPEN THE POLITICAL
PROCESS. IT IS CONCEIVABLE THAT THESE STEPS WILL NOT
BE FULLY IN ACCORD WITH OUR IDEAS. THE U.S. SHOULD
USE GREAT RESTRAINT, LETTING THE BOLIVIANS CARRY OUT
THEIR PROCESSES ENTIRELY ON THEIR OWN.

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THERE IS CONTINUED BOLIVIAN INTEREST IN AN ACCESS
TO THE SEA BUT AT THE MOMENT NEGOTIATIONS WITH CHILE
AND PERU TOWARD THAT OBJECTIVE ARE AT A VIRTUAL
STALEMATE. THIS ISSUE DOES NOT CONSTITUTE A THREAT
FOR PRESIDENT BANZER EVEN THOUGH HE HAS PERSONALLY
ATTACHED GREAT IMPORTANCE TO IT. THERE SEEMS TO BE
NO ROOM AT THIS TIME FOR A UNITED STATES INITIATIVE
ON THIS MATTER. BOLIVIA CONTINUES TO BE CONCERNED
ABOUT A POSSIBLE ARMED CONFLICT BETWEEN CHILE AND PERU
AND THE PROBABLE INTERRUPTION OF PORT SERVICES AND OF
VIOLATIONS OF ITS TERRITORIAL AND AIR SOVEREIGNTY.
BOLIVIA HAS CONSCIOUSLY NOT MADE SIZEABLE ARMS

PURCHASES, A VERY RESPONSIBLE POLICY. IN MY JUDGMENT IT WILL CONTINUE TO BE REASONABLE, BUT SOME PURCHASES WILL IN ALL LIKELIHOOD BE MADE. WE SHOULD NOT INTERPOSE OBJECTIONS OR BE PATERNALISTIC SO LONG AS BOLIVIA DOES NOT SEEK SUPER-CONFIDENTIAL

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SOPHISTICATED WEAPONS OR AN EXCESSIVE QUANTITY OF CONVENTIONAL ONES. IT WOULD ILL BEHOOVE THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO ATTEMPT TO DISSUADE REASONABLE BOLIVIAN ARMS PURCHASES, INCLUDING THOSE FROM U.S. SOURCES, WHICH IN THE MAIN, WOULD BE ACQUIRED TO OVERCOME DEEP APPREHENSIONS ABOUT THE ENORMOUS ARMS BUILD-UP IN PERU OVER WHICH WE APPARENTLY EXERT NO EFFECTIVE LEVERAGE.

THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN BOLIVIA IS BETTER THAN IT HAS BEEN IN THE PAST, AND IS SIGNIFICANTLY BETTER THAN THAT OF ITS NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES. ACCORDINGLY, THE MISSION WILL DEDICATE ITS EFFORTS TO ENCOURAGING THE BOLIVIANS ALONG THE PATH THEY HAVE SELECTED. AT THE MOMENT HUMAN RIGHTS NEED NOT BE CLASSIFIED AS LONG TERM U.S. INTEREST OR A KEY POLICY ISSUE IN BOLIVIA.

THE MOST INTENSE AREA OF U.S. CONCERN IN BOLIVIA, WHICH COMES REASONABLY CLOSE TO BEING A LONG TERM INTEREST, IS THE NEED TO CONTINUE TO COMBAT NARCOTICS TRAFFIC, AND TO REDUCE COCA PRODUCTION. AT THE SAME TIME WE WISH TO ASSURE FAIR AND SPEEDY TRIALS OF U.S. CITIZEN PRISONERS HELD ON NARCOTICS CHARGES. THESE ARE ON-GOING ACTIVITIES RECEIVING HIGH-LEVEL BOLIVIAN GOVERNMENT SUPPORT AND NO POLICY ISSUES FOR THE PARM TIME PERIOD ARE APPARENT AT THIS TIME.

IN SUMMING UP, BOLIVIA, A SMALL, POOR COUNTRY, IS AT THE PRESENT TIME STABLE POLITICALLY AND IS ENJOYING ECONOMIC GROWTH. WE HAVE FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH THE GOB WITHOUT BEING OVERLY IDENTIFIED WITH THE PRESENT LEADERSHIP. THIS ENVIRONMENT, DEVOID OF ISSUES OR PROBLEMS OF A SIGNIFICANT BILATERAL NATURE, IS EXPECTED TO CONTINUE. BASED ON AN HONEST
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EVALUATION OF U.S. STRATEGIC INTERESTS, BOLIVIA DOES

NOT RATE VERY HIGH. ACCORDINGLY, I HAVE DIRECTED THAT THIS PARM BE A CONCISE AND REALISTIC DOCUMENT.

C. OBJECTIVES, COURSES OF ACTION, AND ISSUES
(IN PRIORITY ORDER)

THE U.S. OBJECTIVES LISTED HEREIN CAN BE ACHIEVED WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF FRIENDLY U.S.-BOLIVIAN RELATIONS WHICH ARE EXPECTED TO CONTINUE DURING THE PARM PERIOD. EVERY OBJECTIVE LISTED BELOW ALREADY HAS AN ONGOING PROGRAM FOR ITS ACHIEVEMENT, EITHER OF A SPECIAL NATURE OR WITHIN THE SCOPE OF NORMAL MISSION ACTIVITIES. WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE ONE ISSUE DESCRIBED BELOW THERE ARE NO NEW USG POLICY DECISIONS OR ACTIONS REQUIRED IN RELATION TO THE OBJECTIVES LISTED. RESOURCE ACTIONS RELATING TO THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THESE OBJECTIVES ARE COVERED IN PARTS II AND III. (SPTTEL)

OBJECTIVES

1. REDUCE ILLEGAL COCAINE TRAFFIC AS WELL AS BOLIVIAN COCA LEAF PRODUCTION THROUGH APPROPRIATE ENFORCEMENT AND SOCIOECONOMIC ACTIVITIES.
2. ACCELERATE LEGAL PROCESSING AND IMPROVE TREATMENT OF U.S. CITIZEN PRISONERS IN BOLIVIA.
3. PROMOTE RESPECT FOR AN OBSERVANCE OF BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS IN BOLIVIA. THIS CAN BE BEST ADVANCED IN A CLIMATE OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTRY. TO THIS END, THE USG SHOULD CONTINUE AID PROGRAMS, SUPPORT IFI LENDING, AND ENCOURAGE GOB COOPERATION WITH SUCH INSTITUTIONS AS THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS AND WITH CONFIDENTIAL

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THE CATHOLIC CHURCH TO MAINTAIN BOLIVIA'S IMPROVED RECORD OF HAVING ELIMINATED SYSTEMATIC BRUTALITY TOWARD POLITICAL PRISONERS AND THROUGH OTHER APPROPRIATE MEANS. WE DO NOT SEE HUMAN RIGHTS AS CREATING AN ISSUE REQUIRING A CHANGE IN PRESENT U.S. POLICY AS LONG AS THE GOB CONTINUES IMPROVING ITS PERFORMANCE IN THIS FIELD, WHICH WE EXPECT IT TO DO.

4. MAINTAIN ACCESS TO BOLIVIAN MINERALS AND HYDROCARBON RESOURCES.
5. MAINTAIN A CLIMATE OF OPINION FAVORABLE

TO U.S.

6. CONTINUE SHIFTING FROM A GRANT MILITARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM TO AN FMS CREDIT PROGRAM, WITH A MILITARY ASSISTANCE GROUP COMMENSURATE WITH THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE PROGRAM.

7. INCREASE U.S. EXPORTS TO BOLIVIA.

8. MAINTAIN GOB SUPPORT FOR U.S. POSITIONS IN INTERNATIONAL AND REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS.

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ISSUES

THERE ARE NO SIGNIFICANT BILATERAL ISSUES IN OUR RELATIONS WITH BOLIVIA. HOWEVER, THERE IS A POTENTIAL REGIONAL ISSUE WITH REGARD TO THE MAINTENANCE OF PEACE AND STABILITY IN THE SOUTHERN CONE. SOME SENIOR BOLIVIAN MILITARY OFFICERS BELIEVE IN THE LIKELIHOOD OF A MILITARY CONFLICT BETWEEN PERU AND CHILE DURING THE NEXT TWO YEARS. THEREFORE, CONSIDERATION IS BEING GIVEN WITHIN THE GOB TO EITHER INCREASING BOLIVIAN WEAPONS PURCHASES AS A DETERRENT, OR SEEKING AN

OUTSIDE GUARANTEE FOR BOLIVIA'S TERRITORIAL
INTEGRITY. THE MAJOR QUESTIONS WOULD INCLUDE:
WHAT POSITION SHOULD THE USG TAKE IF IT IS
REQUESTED TO SELL MORE WEAPONS TO BOLIVIA?
WHAT MEASURES, IF ANY, SHOULD THE USG TAKE TO
REDUCE THE POTENTIAL FOR A PERU-CHILE CONFLICT?
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WHAT POSITION, IF ANY, SHOULD THE USG TAKE IN
ADVANCE WITH RESPECT TO BOLIVIA'S NEUTRALITY IN
THE EVENT OF A PERU-CHILE CONFLICT? THE EMBASSY
RECOMMENDS THAT THIS REGIONAL QUESTION BE CAREFULLY
EVALUATED BY WASHINGTON AGENCIES AND AN APPROPRIATE
POLICY AND COURSE OF ACTION BE DETERMINED.
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